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SESSION A-115

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION U.S. SALT DELEGATION GENEVA, SWITZERLAND

DATE: 18 December 1972

TIME: 1210-1240 Hours

PLACE: Soviet Mission, Geneva

SUBJECT: Foward Based Systems

PARTICIPANTS:

Lt General R.B. Allison Captain H.K. Matthes Lt Commander R.K. Martin

LTC F.P. DeSimone

(Interpreter)

USSR

Gen-Lt K.A. Trusov Gen-Lt I.I. Beletsky Captain A.N. Mazerkin Mr. Yu. V. Sudonkin

(Interpreter)

General Trusov said that he found the tone and mood of Ambassador Smith's plenary statement puzzling. The U.S. side had obviously put a lot of effort into its preparation, but the elements of pressure and arguments which it contained would probably not convince the Soviet side. In contrast to many of the arguments put forward by the U.S. side, the Soviet side was addressing in its positions and proposals not theoretical or technological considerations, but specifics. He used for an example the purported contrast between the U.S. argument that Soviet aircraft can reach targets in the U.S. with refueling, and the Soviet proposal concerning U.S. forward-based aircraft which are capable of striking targets in the USSR. He said that positions such as those stated by the U.S. side today can hardly contribute to the advancement of our negotiations.

I said that today's statement had been carefully prepared but this was not exceptional -- all our statements are carefully prepared since we believe that the Soviet Delegation will study them with just as much care. Today's statement drew together into a logical entity the individual parts of the U.S. position on FBS, and it should be carefully studied during the coming recess. I reminded him that the U.S. position is firm in this matter, and emphasized that the Soviet proposal on withdrawal of forces and elimination of thirdcountry bases is unacceptable to the United States.

I continued by pointing out that in its work between phases of the negotiations

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the Soviet side should carefully consider the mobility question in general, and submarine considerations in particular in light of the availability of a submarine-launched ballistic missile with a range of 7,500 kilometers.

I said that it was very important, especially for us as military men, to keep in mind that we are discussing a long term agreement -- one which will be extremely important for the security not only of our two countries but of the entire world for a long time. Changeable or changing factors cannot be the basis for such an agreement. Neither can one side logically avoid specific considerations such as aircraft range with the kind of argument being put forward by the Soviet side. Speaking more generally, it is not a question only of aerial refueling but the fact that both sides have developing technologies for a wide range of applications, which must be kept in mind while working out a long term agreement.

Trusov stated that the proposals presented by the Soviet Delegation during this phase addressed the whole complex of strategic offensive arms, which must be covered in a long term agreement. He said we must carefully consider them during our preparation for the next phase.

SALDEL: Lt General Royal B. Allison, USAF

19 December 1972